

# PEKING REVIEW

13

March 26, 1976

# Chairman Mao Meets Lao Party And Government Delegation

## **Angry Roar of the Egyptian People**

### —“Renmin Ribao” Commentator

## **From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist-Roaders**

# PEKING REVIEW

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## Chairman Mao Meets Lao Party and Government Delegation

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the afternoon of March 17 met with the Lao Party and Government Delegation led by Kaysone Phomvihan, General Secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and Premier of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, with Phoun Sipraseuth, Member of the Political Bureau of the L.P.R.P. Central Committee, Vice-Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, as the deputy leader.

Members of the delegation present on the occasion were:

Sisomphone Lovanxay, Member of the Political Bureau of the L.P.R.P. Central Committee and Vice-

President of the Supreme People's Council; Sisavath Keobounphanh, Member of the L.P.R.P. Central Committee, Minister of the Premier's Office and General Chief of Staff of the Lao People's Liberation Army; Maysouk Saysompheng, Member of the L.P.R.P. Central Committee and Minister of Industry and Trade; Sisana Sisane, Alternate Member of the L.P.R.P. Central Committee and Minister of Propaganda, Information, Culture and Tourism; and Thavone Sichaleun, Lao Ambassador to China.

Comrade Mao Tsetung extended a warm welcome to Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan on his visit to China at the head of the Lao Party and Government Delegation, and shook hands and exchanged greetings with



all the distinguished Lao guests present. Comrade Mao Tsetung then had a friendly conversation with Comrades Kaysone Phomvihan, Phoun Sipraseth and Sisomphone Lovanxay in a very cordial atmosphere. When Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan said that the Communist Party, the Government and the great people of China, and especially Comrade Chairman Mao Tsetung himself, have given substantial and invaluable support and attention to the revolutionary struggles of Laos

and that the Lao people thank them for this, Comrade Mao Tsetung stated: We should thank you; it is you who have helped us.

Hua Kuo-feng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Acting Premier of the State Council, and Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, were present at the meeting.

## Lao Party and Government Delegation Ends Visit

THE Lao Party and Government Delegation with Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan as its leader and Comrade Phoun Sipraseth as its deputy leader returned home by special plane on March 24 after an official friendly visit to China.

The delegation gave a grand farewell banquet on March 18 before leaving Peking for other places in China.

In his speech at the banquet Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan said: "We have spent a most heartwarming and pleasant time in brotherly cordiality in the company of the Chinese Party and government leaders and the fraternal Chinese people. We are especially pleased and greatly honoured to have met Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people and respected and beloved friend of the Lao people."

Recalling the talks between the Lao and Chinese Party and Government Delegations, he said: "During the talks the Chinese side acquainted us with, among other things, the socialist economic construction of the People's Republic of China since its founding; this is a valuable experience for us.

"We consider that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung, are a very valiant people whose heroism was displayed not only in their past struggle to liberate the motherland but also in the struggle to build a socialist China and a prosperous and

happy life. The Chinese people have been well tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and various other political movements as well as in the campaigns to learn from Tachai in agriculture and from Taching in industry. So they will make their motherland advance ceaselessly along the road of socialism and make brilliant history for their great nation. We are of the opinion that the heroic deeds of the courageous Chinese people have set a good example for the Lao people and the oppressed peoples of the world."

He continued: "We are extremely glad that through these talks we had the opportunity of expressing the profound gratitude of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the Lao people to Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the fraternal Chinese people. You were the reliable rear area for the battlefield on which the Lao people waged their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. You gave sincere, multifarious and effective support and assistance to the Lao revolution. You made an important contribution to our completing in the main the national democratic revolution and opening up the way to social progress in Laos."

"We are much gladdened by the fact that in the talks the Chinese side reiterated the stand that it would

continue, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to extend revolutionary solidarity to the Lao revolution and support and assist our revolutionary struggle to defend and build the young People's Democratic Republic of Laos." He announced in his speech that the delegations of the two countries had signed an agreement on economic and technical co-operation which provides that China will continue to give interest-free loans to Laos. He said: "We are confident that this support and assistance given by China to the Lao revolution in the new stage will enable the Lao revolution to surmount all kinds of obstacles and difficulties and will contribute to the effort of the Lao people to display self-reliant initiative and keep their People's Democratic Republic marching along the road of peace, independence, democracy, unity, prosperity and social progress."

Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan said that through this visit, the fraternal friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples will continue to flourish. He pledged the Lao people's efforts to safeguard and enhance this friendship and unity.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng said at the banquet: "During the stay of the delegation in Peking, Comrade Mao Tsetung met Comrades Kaysone Phomvihan, Phoun Sipraseth and Sisomphone Lovanxay and other comrades, and they had a most cordial and friendly conversation. The Party and government leaders of our two countries held sincere and friendly talks on strengthening the relations between our two Parties and two countries and on questions of common interest. Our two govern-



Distinguished Lao guests visiting the Exhibition on the National Movement to Learn From Tachai in Agriculture.

ments signed the agreement on economic and technical co-operation between China and Laos. All this fully shows the profound fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Lao peoples."

"The delegation," he continued, "has brought to the Chinese people the happy tidings of victory and the fraternal friendship of the Lao people, which greatly inspire the Chinese people. During their visit, Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan and other comrades on the delegation have made many very warm and friendly remarks of thanks for the Chinese people's aid. We all along hold that the aid between peoples of various countries is always mutual. It is our bounden proletarian internationalist duty to do our best to support and assist the fraternal Lao people. At present, China is still a developing socialist country and has limited material means. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people are determined to take class struggle as the key link, work hard to build up their socialist motherland and strive to make a greater contribution to mankind."

### Ethiopian Official Goodwill Delegation Visits China

The Ethiopian Official Goodwill Delegation led by Captain Moges Wolde Michael, Chairman of the

Economic Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, visited China from March 8 to 23.

Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng on March 22 met and had a cordial and friendly talk with the members of the delegation.

Vice-Premier Ku Mu gave a banquet in honour of the delegation on the day of its arrival in Peking.

In his speech at the banquet, Vice-Premier Ku Mu warmly praised the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia which has, since its establishment, introduced a series of social reforms, actively developed the national economy and achieved heartening progress.

"In international affairs," he added, "Ethiopia pursues a foreign policy of non-alignment, opposes imperialism and colonialism, supports national-liberation movements and has contributed its efforts to promoting the African cause of unity against imperialism."

"The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at the successes won by the Ethiopian Government and people and wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance," he continued.

Dwelling on the vigorous development of the national-liberation movement in southern Africa, the Vice-Premier pointed out: "The super-

powers, colonialism and white racism are not reconciled to their defeat. They are resorting to all kinds of underhand schemes and putting up frenzied struggles. In particular, social-imperialism, which claims to be a 'natural ally' of African countries, has stepped up its efforts to grab spheres of influence, strategic points and natural resources in Africa in order to contend for world hegemony. Its outright aggression and interference in Angola have further revealed its ferocious features. However, all imperialists and reactionaries are paper tigers, and social-imperialism is no exception. A colossus with feet of clay, it looks powerful, but is inwardly weak; it is wildly ambitious, but lacks strength. Doing evil everywhere in Africa, it will eventually arouse even stronger resistance on the part of African countries and people. In the end, it will find itself besieged ring upon ring by the great African people."

In his speech, delegation leader Moges Wolde Michael pointed out: "Ethiopia and China have had a long history. Both have suffered feudal and imperialist suppression for a very long time and valiantly fought against aggressive forces of fascism."

"In February of 1974," he added, "the Ethiopian people, led by the armed forces, took up arms against the feudo-bourgeois regime and overthrew the oppressive yoke of feudalism."

He gave an account of the various moves taken by the new regime in transforming the society and expressed the conviction that, despite difficulties, the Ethiopian people will win final victory.

During the delegation's stay in Peking, Vice-Premier Ku Mu held talks with Chairman Moges Wolde Michael on international questions of common concern and on further development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. They signed agreements on economic and technical co-operation between China and Ethiopia on behalf of their respective governments.

# From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist-Roaders

by Chih Heng

THE great struggle initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous correct verdicts is developing soundly in various spheres of the superstructure, including education, science and technology, and art and literature. The spearhead of the criticism is directed at the capitalist-roader inside the Party who refuses to mend his ways, the one who put forward the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link." A continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, this struggle is yet another major trial of strength on the political and ideological front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism and revisionism.

Through this struggle, the cadres and masses will certainly receive a profound lesson in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and further raise their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Through it our country's socialist revolution and construction will certainly take a giant stride forward.

The deepening of the revolutionary mass debate has raised a number of thought-provoking questions: Why is it that some people who were revolutionaries in the period of the new-democratic revolution have become capitalist-roaders in the period of the socialist revolution? Why does the capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways deny the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, oppose taking class struggle as the key link and run counter to the basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party?

We can find the class and ideological origins of the Right deviationist wind by using the Marxist method of class analysis and draw beneficial lessons accordingly.

At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in 1959, Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out that Right opportunist elements in the Party had never been proletarian revolutionaries. They were merely bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats who had found their way into the proletarian revolutionary ranks. Nor had they ever been Marxist-Leninists, but

were fellow-travellers of the Party. The capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways is also one of this kind. When he and other such people joined the proletarian revolutionary ranks, they brought with them the ideology of bourgeois democracy. When they accepted to varying degrees the Party's minimum programme, that is, the programme of the new-democratic revolution, they did not associate it with the Party's maximum programme, that is, the winning of socialism and communism. They do not understand the Party's maximum programme, nor are they prepared to work for its realization. In other words, their world outlook is not a proletarian communist world outlook but a bourgeois one. Furthermore, this bourgeois stand and world outlook have not been remoulded in the course of protracted revolutionary struggles. When the revolution advanced from the stage of the new-democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, their ideology failed to keep pace with the revolutionary advance. On the contrary, although they had physically entered socialist society, ideologically they were still in the stage of the democratic revolution. This determined their inevitable conflict with and even opposition to the socialist revolution. The bourgeois democratic stand and world outlook represent the bourgeoisie and are the class and ideological origins of the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.

The new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party are two revolutionary stages whose character, targets and tasks are essentially different. The former took place in the old China of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The principal contradiction it aimed to resolve was the contradiction between the masses of the people including workers, peasants, the petty and national bourgeoisie on one side and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the other. Therefore, it was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution in character. Its task was to strive under the leadership of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of imperialism, the feudal landlord class and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in China, and to lead the revolution to socialism.

With the victory of the new-democratic revolution, the character and principal contradiction of the Chinese society changed. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie became the principal contradiction in our country. This contradiction not only exists in society at large but is also reflected in the Party. The socialist revolution we are carrying out is a revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The spearhead of the revolution is directed mainly against the bourgeoisie and against Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Its task is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, use socialism to defeat capitalism, and through protracted class struggle gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally eliminate classes and realize communism. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of the socialist revolutionary stage.

If one's ideology still remains at the old stage and views and treats the socialist revolution from the stand and world outlook of bourgeois democrats, one will become a representative of the bourgeoisie, a capitalist-roader and a target of the socialist revolution.

After the victory of the new-democratic revolution in China, the ideology of some people in the Party remained at the stage of the democratic revolution and they did not want to continue the revolution along the socialist road. Isn't this true of the capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways? He and his followers are afraid that the socialist revolution will bring them under fire and will affect private ownership, bourgeois right which they cherish, the traditional ideas they want to uphold and their bourgeois class stand and world outlook. They therefore become representatives of the bourgeoisie. The deeper the socialist revolution goes, the sharper becomes the contradiction between them and the revolution and between them and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who were in continuing the revolution. As the socialist revolution moves forward, they fall back and oppose revolution.

It is precisely the capitalist-roader refusing to mend his ways who opposed agricultural co-operation and the people's commune and supported "the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own." Later, he set himself up against the Great Cultural Revolution and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement, and now made every effort to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line." (Speech at the

Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.)

In terms of ideology and class origin, the bourgeois class stand and world outlook are in accord with revisionism. Opportunism, or revisionism, is a faction and school of thought in the workers' movement which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its special feature is betrayal of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Revisionists invariably preach class conciliation, the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces from a bourgeois class stand. They invariably use these revisionist fallacies to oppose the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. From Bernstein and Kautsky to Trotsky and Bukharin, and from Khrushchev and Brezhnev to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all acted in this way. This is true also of the capitalist-roader who has refused to mend his ways. He put forward the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" and advocated the theories of the dying out of class struggle and of productive forces to counter the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also used it to interfere with and undermine the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of the novel *Water Margin*, both initiated and led by Chairman Mao. He also used it to push the revisionist line in various fields. The absurdities, which appeared last year in the educational, scientific and technological fields, in literature and art and other spheres in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Great Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things, all stemmed from this revisionist programme. He whose ideology remains in the stage of the democratic revolution, denying the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, is bound to practise revisionism.

Chairman Mao has said: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'? Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This is a penetrating criticism of the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link." We have won great victories in socialist revolution in the past 20 years and more but class struggle has not died out. Members of the defeated class are still around, this class still exists and is still struggling and dreaming of a comeback; the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie still exist; large numbers of intellectuals who have not been thoroughly remoulded still exist; the force of habit and conventional influences of the small producers still exist and are still engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Are these not facts known to everyone? Were people not greatly shocked at the subversive activities of the anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, agents of the bourgeoisie inside the Party who attempted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism? Isn't the emergence of new bourgeois ele-

ments in the Party such as Lin Piao and his like a profound lesson to us? Under such circumstances, how can it be said that class struggle has died out? In putting forward ideas such as "taking the three directives as the key link" and talking of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, people like the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways do not really want to abolish class struggle. What they are really after is to extinguish the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and fight the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. They pretend to want stability and unity and to develop production; what they really want is to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Their revisionist line is in fact detrimental to stability and unity and socialist production.

After the victory of the democratic revolution, the issue is whether to stop the revolution at the old stage and not going forward or to persist in making socialist revolution and strive for the goal of communism, that is, whether or not to persevere in making revolution against the bourgeoisie. Herein lies the fundamental difference between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois democrats and between Marxists and revisionists. The struggle between the two lines within the Party during the socialist period precisely centres on this issue.

Why does the capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways so resent the Great Cultural Revolution? Why does he regard the socialist new things which have emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution as a thorn in his flesh and something to be got rid of at all costs? Why is he so reluctant to part with the capitalist and revisionist trash which was repudiated in the Great Cultural Revolution, and is so eager to reinstate it? This is because, as Chairman Mao has said, "the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes." This great revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, criticized their revisionist line, brought the capitalist-roaders in the Party under fire, made the bourgeoisie in the Party the target of the revolution, criticized the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transformed education, literature and art and other parts of the superstructure not in conformity with the socialist economic base. All these run counter to the bourgeois interests represented by the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways and to the capitalist road he is so eager to take. Because of this, people like him have inevitably become opponents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The birthmarks of the old society remain in socialist society as is the case with bourgeois right and the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour. These provide the soil and conditions for engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. The long-

term task in the period of socialism is to restrict bourgeois right and gradually wipe out the vestiges of the old society. The deeper the socialist revolution goes, the more imperative it is for us to put forward this task and set about to accomplish it.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." This instruction of Chairman Mao's reflects the desire and demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to push the socialist revolution forward. At the same time it arouses fear and opposition from people whose ideology still remains at the stage of the democratic revolution. They want to retain these fundamental aspects of bourgeois right. These people come out in opposition when the revolution hits them directly by moving to restrict those aspects of bourgeois right which they wish to uphold. Why does this capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways hate the socialist new things which restrict bourgeois right in various fields? Why does he censure in every way the criticism of material incentives and of regarding knowledge as private property and other ideas arising from bourgeois right? Why is he so afraid of raising the question of restricting bourgeois right and why is he dead against it? It is because he represents the bourgeoisie and wants to safeguard and strengthen bourgeois right and safeguard and expand the basis on which the bourgeoisie is engendered and survives.

Resentment of and opposition to the socialist revolution stemming from ideology which remains at the stage of the democratic revolution — this is a historical phenomenon which has repeatedly appeared in the Party over the past 20 years and more. For example, our Party in 1953 decided to carry out the policy of planned purchase and marketing, an important step in undertaking socialist revolution and construction. At that time, there were people in the Party who leapt out in firm opposition. They were Communists in name, but spoke out for the urban and rural capitalist forces against the socialist revolution. In the period when agricultural co-operatives were being developed, Liu Shao-chi and his like disbanded large numbers of co-operatives and attacked the movement. What they planned and did was contrary to the wishes and doings of the peasants numbering hundreds of millions. In 1957, when the bourgeois Rightists took advantage of the Party's rectification drive to launch a wild attack upon the proletariat, there were also people in the Party who advocated a bourgeois programme in co-ordination with the bourgeois Rightists of that time. In 1959, Peng Teh-huai's Right opportunism opposed the Party's general line, negated the great leap forward and the

(Continued on p. 20.)

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# Criticizing the Programme for Capitalist Restoration

TEACHERS and students of Peking University are now deepening their criticism of the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by that unrepentant Party person in power taking the capitalist road. The aim of this programme, they pointed out, is to restore capitalism.

They are taking an active part in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind of negating the Great Cultural Revolution.

The three directives from Chairman Mao are: studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism; stability and unity; and pushing the national economy forward. They were given on different occasions and under different circumstances.

With a view to changing the Party's basic line and restoring capitalism, that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, with ulterior motives, placed the last two directives on an equal footing with the directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and put forward the slogan of "taking the three directives as the key link." He hoped in this way to negate Chairman Mao's consistent teachings that we must always take class struggle as the key link and grasp the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'? Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This important instruction is a criticism directed against that slogan. In the light of this instruction, the faculty members and students of Peking University reviewed the past year's fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. The spring of 1975 saw the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country conscientiously studying our great leader Chairman Mao's important directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." While the revolutionary masses studied and discussed the directive with great

enthusiasm, those representing the interests of the bourgeoisie and trying to restore capitalism were filled with fear, and they resisted and opposed the criticism of revisionism and resented the criticism of bourgeois right. So they tried to undermine the study of the directive. At this time that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party came out with the slogan of "taking the three directives as the key link" and preached everywhere that it was the "key link for work in all fields."

What should be the key link in the entire historical period of socialism?

Marx and Engels pointed out: "For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement." (*Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others ["Circular Letter"]*.)

Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat that is victorious and has taken political power into its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but that has intensified its resistance." (*Foreword to the Published Speech "Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality."*)

As early as at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party on the eve of country-wide liberation when the Chinese revolution was moving from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out that after the seizure of political power throughout the country, the main internal contradiction would be "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." Later, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, he again taught the whole Party: "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) In 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Never forget classes and class struggle" and formulated for our Party its basic line for the entire historical period of social-

ism. In 1965, while criticizing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, Chairman Mao once again pointed out: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so."

The wise theses of the revolutionary teachers enabled the faculty members, students, staff members and workers of the university to understand that in a class society, class struggle is the motive force and lever of historical development. Throughout the period of socialism, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction "whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions." (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.)

In putting forward the slogan of taking the three directives as "the key link for work in all fields," that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party aimed at negating class struggle as the key link, but this is precisely the core of the Party's basic line.

Why did he want to negate class struggle as the key link? Facts show that he wanted to restore capitalism. When he negated class struggle as the key link, he did not mean writing off class struggle altogether, his real aim was to blunt the revolutionary vigilance of the proletariat and the masses. What he wanted was to negate the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; as for the bourgeoisie's attack against the proletariat, he had no intention of giving it up, but was actually intensifying it.

The revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University cited facts to show that the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, while talking about the need to carry out Chairman Mao's three directives, was actually pouring cold

water on the revolutionary masses in their movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, expanding bourgeois right, widening the three major differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour. With the attitude of a bourgeois aristocratic overlord, he whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and spread the nonsense that "the present is not as good as the past"; he tried to negate the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and suppress the socialist new things. That capitalist-roader still on the capitalist road lauded to the skies those bourgeois intellectuals in certain departments who had not remoulded their ideology, and placed them above the Party committee; meanwhile, he tried his best to sow discord between the intellectuals and the Party and opposed intellectuals advancing along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

This capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways distorted the slogan for stability and unity and sabotaged stability and unity in every way; he negated the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leading bodies. Facts show that practising revisionism inevitably leads to splits. That capitalist-roader himself was the cause of splits. He tried unscrupulously to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

Using development of the national economy and modernization of industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology as his ensign to hoodwink people, he stirred up a "hurricane for vocational work" and an "economic hurricane" in an attempt to sweep away proletarian politics, the key link of class struggle and the Party's basic line and replace them with a revisionist line. In some units, things that had been thoroughly repudiated during the Great Cultural Revolution such as material incentives and putting profits in command were brought back.

Facts have helped the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University understand that if classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat are forgotten, then, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, "it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."



**Putting up big-character posters to beat off the Right deviationist wind.**

Through criticism of the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of the university have come to see more clearly than before that the current counter-attack against the Right deviationist wind is a major struggle between the pro-

letariat and the bourgeoisie, a continuation of the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

## Angry Roar of the Egyptian People

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

THE Egyptian People's Assembly on March 15 approved a bill, officially abrogating the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" which was signed in May 1971 to be valid for 15 years. This resolute decision of great significance demonstrates the Egyptian people's fervent aspirations and firm determination to safeguard their national independence, state sovereignty and dignity, and shows that the Egyptian people are a heroic people with strong backbone who cannot be intimidated or subdued by any force. The decision has greatly heightened the morale of the Egyptian people and other Arab people as well as the people of the third world as a whole and greatly deflated the arrogance of the Soviet social-imperialists. It is acclaimed by justice-upholding people throughout the world. The Chinese people resolutely support the Egyptian people's just struggle and firmly believe that their struggle is bound to win new victories continually.

People still remember that the Soviet revisionist authorities had extolled the Soviet-Egyptian "treaty of friendship and co-operation" and Soviet-Egyptian relations to the skies, saying that the treaty "was a vivid example of genuine equality, full mutual understanding and fraternal solidarity," that it had "laid a permanent foundation for the development of the relations between the two countries" and "had strong vitalities," and so on and so forth. Now, in less than five years after the signing of the treaty, Egypt which has been driven beyond the limits of its forbearance is compelled to abrogate it. This serves to reveal the true features of the Soviet revisionists who, in their dealings with Egypt, have honey on their lips but murder in their hearts. The abrogation has given them a sound slap in the face.

Egypt's abrogation of the treaty is a move enjoying popular support and it marks a new development in the Egyptian people's struggle against hegemonism. The crimes committed against Egypt by the Soviet revisionists before and after the signing of the treaty are "disgusting" as President Sadat said. Twenty years have elapsed from the mid-50s, when the Soviet revisionists began infiltrating into Egypt by taking advantage of the

Egyptian people's aspiration to resist Israeli aggression and develop their national economy, to the abrogation of the treaty today. During these years, the Soviet revisionists have resorted to all kinds of vile and vicious tricks to cruelly exploit and blackmail the Egyptian people and unscrupulously intervene in Egypt's internal affairs in an attempt to establish a hegemonic rule in Egypt with the Soviet Union dominating and controlling everything there. The Egyptian people have suffered bitterly from Soviet aggression and expansion and they have risen time and again in resistance. Angrily denouncing the Soviet revisionists for raising unreasonable demands, former Egyptian President Nasser said it was an act of "imperialism, pure and simple!" The Egyptian people have come to know thoroughly from the experience of 20 years' struggle that no "friendship" or "co-operation" whatever can be expected of Soviet social-imperialism. They have come to see its reactionary features more and more clearly. President Sadat's firm decision to abrogate the Egyptian-Soviet treaty is yet another tremendous victory in their anti-hegemonic struggle following the Egyptian people's expulsion of Soviet military personnel in 1972. For all countries and people subjected to bullying, interference and control by Soviet social-imperialism, it is an example to follow in rising and resisting superpower hegemonism and safeguard national independence and state sovereignty.

The decision of the Egyptian people to abrogate the Egyptian-Soviet treaty is of great significance and it gives the people profound education and enlightenment.

It shows that the Soviet revisionists' panegyric about "friendship and co-operation" is only a cloak for covering up their aggression and expansion against other countries and their plunder and control of them. Their so-called "respect for sovereignty," "equality and mutual benefit," "co-ordinated action," "strengthening" of Egypt's "defence capability" are all sheer deception! In recent years the Soviet Union has committed numerous crimes against Egypt, interfering in its internal af-

fairs, withholding the shipment of munitions, ferociously pressing for payment of debts and interest, sowing discord among Arab countries, trying hard to isolate Egypt and even conspiring to subvert the Egyptian Government. The people of the whole world have witnessed all this and the Kremlin can never deny the facts.

It also shows: "There are true and false friends. But through practice one can tell the true from the false." It is understandable that the Egyptian people placed their hopes on Moscow's "aid" when they had before them the serious task of fighting against imperialism and colonialism and liberating their homeland. However, what this "natural ally" did has given the Egyptian people a deep education by negative example. It gave a little amount of arms in order to control Egypt, and it withheld supplying arms in order to force Egypt into submission. It provided some so-called military and economic aid in order to infiltrate into Egypt and expand its own spheres of influence; it took advantage of Egypt's difficulties to madly press for payment of debts in order to force the country to surrender its independent stand. What kind of "ally" is this! It fully reveals the vicious features of social-imperialism.

The abrogation of the treaty also shows that one should not put blind faith in the social-imperialists. They brag so much about their "aid" as if the liberation of oppressed nations and their national construction would be out of the question without it. The Egyptian people have come to know from their own experience that to control Egypt is the real aim of the Soviet revisionists, whereas their aid is fraudulent. In recent years, the Egyptian people under the leadership of President Sadat have taken a series of measures to shake off Soviet control and safeguard state sovereignty. This enraged the Soviet revisionists who, bent on bringing Egypt to its knees, resorted to the stick and the carrot. But the Egyptian people refused to submit to threat or be misled by honeyed words. They courageously withstood all pressures and were firmly determined to be masters of their own destiny. Facts have fully proved that confronted by a united people daring to struggle, Soviet social-imperialism is but a paper tiger and there is nothing to be afraid of. On the contrary, it is social-imperialism that fears the awakened people of the third world countries and the people of small countries who have stood up.

After Egypt decided to abrogate the treaty, the Soviet revisionist authorities immediately issued a statement through their mouthpiece TASS, declaring that the responsibility for the consequences of "the abrogation of the U.S.S.R.-A.R.E. treaty of friendship and co-operation rests entirely with the Egyptian side." In this statement the Soviet social-imperialists not only try to wriggle out of the responsibility for their treacherous acts but also to blackmail the Egyptian people. All this, however, is futile. With the abrogation of the treaty, the Egyptian people have cast off another

shackle placed on them by the Soviet social-imperialists and taken their destiny into their own hands. Such "consequences" are excellent. Of course, this most vicious social-imperialism will never be reconciled to its defeat and will commit all manner of outrageous evil deeds. By "consequences," the Soviet social-imperialists mean that they will resort to more despicable tactics as a reprisal against Egypt. But the great Egyptian people are on their guard. An Egyptian leader announced that his country has prepared "contingency plans" to meet possible Soviet hostile measures in various fields. We believe that the Egyptian people, with the support of other Arab people and the people of the whole world, will certainly smash all Soviet social-imperialist plots of sabotage and trouble-making.

Hegemonism itself determines its inevitable failure and doom. All acts of aggression, expansion and hegemonism produce the reverse of what they are intended to achieve. There was no exception to this rule in ancient times: nor is there in modern times. To contend for world domination, the Soviet social-imperialists have stretched their tentacles to every corner of the world in their desperate expansionist activities, thinking that things were made to their order. But the more places they reach out for, the greater will be the number of people who clearly see their true features as imperialists and the greater will be the number of people who rise to oppose them. The thunderous roar of the Egyptian people is only a new starting point. The storms of opposition to Soviet hegemonism and expansionism will certainly rise one after another in the third world countries as well as in other small and medium-sized countries.

(March 19)

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### Firmly Supporting Egypt's Struggle Against Hegemonism

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on March 21 with Salah El-Abd, Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to China.

The Chinese Foreign Minister stated that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Egyptian people in the just struggle they carry on under the leadership of President Anwar El Sadat in defence of national independence and state sovereignty against big-power hegemonism, and that they believe that the Arab people including the Palestinian people, by strengthening their unity and persevering in struggle, will surely win continuous new victories in their struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and Zionism.

# Egypt Hails Abrogation of Egyptian-Soviet Treaty

A PROPOSITION of the bill to abrogate the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation" by the Egyptian People's Assembly on March 15 was another great victory of the Egyptian people in safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty.

On the evening of March 14, President Sadat addressed a special session of the People's Assembly which was attended by members of the Assembly, members of the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union, and senior officials and officers. The President's speech was carried live over radio and television and was attentively followed by thousands upon thousands of people throughout Egypt.

Referring to Egyptian-Soviet relations in his three-hour speech, the President strongly condemned Soviet dealings with Egypt which he described as a "cat and mouse game." He cited numerous facts to show deliberate Soviet stratagems in refusing to sell arms and spare parts to Egypt and repeatedly pressing for repayment of debts. He declared: "In one year, and in one and a half years at most, all the [Soviet-made] arms I have will turn into scrap iron because they are withholding spare parts for the arms and the means to overhaul plane engines." The President angrily pointed out: "This is an economic blockade and military pressure." At this point, members of the Assembly cried out furiously against the dirty Soviet acts. Continuing, President Sadat said: "Thus they are putting economic pressure and military pressure on me unless I go to them begging on my knees." He then firmly declared that he would neither submit to nor kneel before Soviet pressure. At this the whole hall immediately burst into thunderous applause.

President Sadat pointed out that the Soviet Union has adopted a policy of creating Arab axes leading to Moscow ever since the Middle East October War and the shrinkage of Soviet influence in Egypt. At the same time, he added, the Soviet Union has adopted a tough line towards Egypt militarily and economically.

He stressed that Egypt refused to be affiliated to either camp because that has the quality of subordination, but sought its own national and regional interests.

The session reached a climax when the President announced he was presenting a bill to the Assembly for the abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty. Many members raised their arms and shouted: "Abrogate the treaty now!"

Outside the Assembly hall, the Egyptians who were following the proceedings through radio or television were as jubilant and excited as those in the hall.

On the evening of March 15, the People's Assembly resumed its session to consider the report submitted by the Foreign Affairs Committee recommending the abrogation of the treaty. One after another, members of the Assembly expressed their support. Nasser Abdel Ghafour said that the treaty should be abrogated because the people wish to do so. He pointed out that the treaty has long been annulled by the Soviet side since it has not implemented any of its clauses; and having been annulled by the Soviet side, it had to be abrogated by the Egyptian side. Polis Basili said that the treaty had been dead before it was born because the Soviet Union has never been true to Egypt. Mamoun Mashah said: "The Russians alleged that there are attempts now in Egypt to undermine the achievements of the July 23 Revolution. This is an interference in our internal affairs." He pointed out that it was the Soviets who caused the abrogation of the treaty.

Finally, the People's Assembly approved the bill. This resolute decision which reflects the wishes and interests of the Egyptian people has won their firm and unanimous support.

The abrogation of the treaty has become a great event in Egypt's political life and glad tidings to the people of the whole country. An Egyptian journalist said: "The treaty gives no benefit to Egypt which signed it under pressure. Thus it must be abrogated. Egyptians are willing to keep friendly relations with those countries treating Egypt on an equal footing, but will not co-operate with a country bullying it." An athlete hailed the abrogation as a decision "that upholds the dignity of our country and our nation." A personage from economic circles said: "It is possible that the Soviet Union will bring more pressure to bear on us after the abrogation of the treaty, but we are not afraid. Ours is a just act which is supported by the third world and European countries. We would take effective measures to overcome any difficulties caused by the Soviet Union."

The Egyptian press has attached great importance to the abrogation and carried related reports with banner headlines and photos. "The Egyptian-Soviet friendship and co-operation treaty has been a dead letter since it was signed," said Ihsan Abdel Koddous, Chairman of the Board of *Al-Ahram*, in an article published by the Egyptian paper on March 19. The article said: "In more than one clause, the treaty reiterated the elimination of the consequences of the aggression but

not even one single consequence has been removed either in Egypt or in Syria since the treaty was signed." The treaty stipulated that the two parties should confer on all important issues, but the Soviet Union has refused to do so, it pointed out. "The treaty was thus reduced to a worthless document which the Soviet Union used only as a model for other countries to follow," it said.

Moussa Sabry, Deputy Board Chairman of the Egyptian weekly *Akhbar al-Yom*, in an article on March 17 said that "the abrogation of the treaty of friendship and co-operation between us and the Soviet Union is a reply to the Soviet Union's behaviour towards us." The article pointed out: "The Egyptian people's prolonged struggle and sacrifices are aimed at liberation from all subordination." "The Egyptian people cannot be the tail of any one," it added. "Friendship does not mean trusteeship, nor does alliance mean subordination and gratitude does not entail abandonment of our principles," it stressed. "Egypt has never been a Soviet colony, nor will it become an American one," it concluded.

*Al-Akhbar*'s March 16 editorial said: "The reasons which led, after long patience, to the abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty are many. Some are related to the Soviet Union's attitude towards Egypt and others are connected with the Soviet Union's attitude in the Arab world."

Exposing the truth about the Soviet Union's attempt to weaken Egypt and do harm to the Arab nation, the editorial said: "When the Soviet Union realized that Egypt will not accept subordination, it began to seek the weakening of Egypt militarily and economically by withholding arms and spare parts supplies and preventing friendly countries from selling us what we needed in order to repair the old Russian weapons." At the same time, it said, Moscow harassed us by demanding the repayment of debts and interest on the debts while Arab and non-Arab countries were coming to Egypt's aid. The abrogation of the treaty is therefore in response to the desires of the Egyptian people and this ought to be a lesson to the Soviet Union, the editorial noted.

#### For Your Reference

### **How Soviet Revisionists Used Egyptian-Soviet Treaty to Control Egypt**

ON the proposal of Egyptian President Sadat, the Egyptian People's Assembly on March 15 approved a bill abrogating the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and co-operation." This is a resounding victory for the Egyptian people's struggle against Soviet hegemonism.

On May 27, 1971, the Soviet revisionist chieftain Podgorny turned up in Cairo to pressure Egypt into signing a "treaty of friendship and co-operation." Consisting of 12 articles, the treaty was to be effective for 15 years. In the five years since its signing, the Soviet revisionists disregarded most of the provisions and completely reneged on their stipulated commitments while using the treaty to control Egypt.

To oppose Israeli aggression, Egypt badly needed arms; it had fixed 1971 as the "decisive year" for recovering the lost territories. At the time, Podgorny was full of promises, agreeing that five days after his return to Moscow arms were to be shipped to Egypt. But nothing followed after this. Egypt's persistent appeals forced Kosygin in 1972 to guarantee that he would personally supervise the shipment of arms to Egypt. Lies, however, cannot cover up the facts. The Soviet Union again and again resorted to stalling tactics and delayed supplying Egypt with urgently needed

arms so that the latter's plan to recover the lost lands could not be realized.

While trampling the treaty underfoot, the Soviet social-imperialists exploited the treaty's provision on "military co-operation" to send large numbers of military personnel to Egypt and grab military bases and political privileges there in a vain attempt to control and manipulate Egypt's war plans. They denied the Egyptians knowledge of mastering certain weapons. They promised to provide "electronic devices," but only on the condition that they must be manned by Soviet personnel and that Egyptians were not to handle them. The Soviet personnel not only threw their weight about like "overlords" but also interfered in Egypt's internal affairs. Those Egyptian military installations and bases under their control were off-limits to Egyptian military officers and even top leaders. They also rampantly gathered Egyptian and other Arab countries' military, political and economic intelligence and engaged in subversive activities. Their despicable acts of undermining Egypt's national independence and state sovereignty and interference in internal affairs aroused the Egyptian people's greatest indignation. Finally in 1972 the Soviet military personnel were sent packing from Egypt.

To contend for world hegemony, the Soviet social-imperialists imposed a no war, no peace situation in the Middle East. In 1973, Egypt rid itself of this situation and carried out the October War. The Soviet revisionists at first put up obstructions and then opposed it. Later, when Egypt was winning major victories, they perfidiously stopped replenishing Egypt's arms and ammunition to inveigle and force Egypt into accepting a

(Continued on p. 22.)

## Smell of Gunpowder From Moscow

JUST before and after Soviet Army Day, there was a spate of statements, articles and orders by Moscow's military chiefs. Reeking of gunpowder but a bit more candid than such claptraps as "detente" and "disarmament," they revealed to a certain degree how the Soviet Union is stepping up its arms expansion and war preparations.

They all admitted that in the five years since the 24th party congress, radical changes — both quantitative and qualitative — have taken place in Soviet military strength. Don't those confessions by Soviet brass hats completely tally with disclosures made by statesmen and public opinion of various countries about Soviet arms expansion and war preparations? It is a well-known fact that "quantitative changes" have taken place in the Soviet army, which has increased in strength from some three million to four million. "Profound qualitative changes" are shown in the continuous expansion of both conventional and nuclear weapons and the intensified race with the other superpower in the quality of the weapons. Coming straight from the mouths of Moscow's military chiefs, these confessions have pricked big holes on the signboards of "detente" and "disarmament" which Moscow and its followers have taken pains to rig up.

They also admitted that wars have to be sought, clamouring that "the situation in many parts of the world is highly explosive," that "the danger of war has not been eliminated," and so on and so forth. They stressed that they would "indefatigably" "strengthen the fighting power of the armed forces," raise the "combat readiness" to "a new level," and that the troops should "be good at using these weapons effectively in battle" so as to "deal crushing blows to any aggressor." These bellicose statements by the Soviet brass hats should enable people to see more clearly that that imperialism which flaunts the signboard of "socialism" is by no means a "standard-bearer" of the "irresistible trend of detente," but is the most dangerous source of a new world war pure and simple.

The ballyhoo by the Soviet top brass serves also to refute the Soviet revisionists' apologies for their own arms expansion and war preparations.

People still remember that last year Soviet revisionist leaders said that "imperialism no longer has military superiority" and that "Soviet defence capability has been consolidated to such a degree that it can reliably safeguard the country's security." If this were the case, why then did the Soviet Union go in for large-scale arms expansion and war preparation at any cost

and continue to take the road of militarization even when its national economy was already in a sorry plight? The only answer is that the aim of the Soviet revisionist massive military buildup is not for normal defence needs at home but for their counter-revolutionary needs in carrying out aggression and expansion abroad and in striving for spheres of influence and seeking world hegemony.

People also remember that last year Brezhnev made a big fanfare about the Soviet "peace offensive" and its policy of "detente," declaring ostentatiously that "the threat of a new world war has been put off." A Soviet delegate at the United Nations expressed the same idea in different words, saying that "the menace of a world war has abated." Whatever phraseology they use, the meaning is the same: the chances of a new war are becoming increasingly slim. If this is true, what are the Soviet revisionists up to then in sparing no efforts to expand their nuclear and conventional weapons arsenal and strengthen their huge military machinery? All this shows that the danger of a new war has not been put off, rather the factors of war have conspicuously increased. This must be attributed to the fierce contention between the two superpowers, and particularly to the unbridled expansionist activities of social-imperialism which has reached out everywhere in the world. The sabre-rattling statements from Moscow on Soviet Army Day have once more sounded the tocsin for the people of the world.

## The Fuss Over Natural Disaster and Human Fault

A CONTROVERSY is going on inside and outside the Kremlin on whether the 1975 disastrous crop failure in the Soviet Union resulted from natural disaster or human fault.

Total grain output in the Soviet Union last year was only 140 million tons, less than 70 per cent of the planned target. This is really tragic and, of course, merits tracing its cause. Some said that "the cause is not to be found in man but in nature," that there was too much rainfall in spring and the heat in summer was terrific, and some even claimed that last year's weather "was the worst in a century." In short, heaven was to blame for not coming to their aid. All this hue and cry was obviously meant to absolve the Soviet revisionist ruling clique from any responsibility in the matter.

Recently, however, other people in the Soviet Union came forward to refute the above-mentioned arguments, saying that human fault is the main cause. They

claimed that leaders in certain economic departments had issued orders higgledy-piggledy and messed up sowing periods, the system of crop rotation and other rational methods of farm management. Nature, they pointed out, had not stepped out of bounds for many years and therefore was not to blame. These people even proposed that the good old name of heaven be "rehabilitated."

All the absurd talk about putting the blame on nature is actually not worth refuting. There is no need to mention that in the period of socialism prior to the usurpation of Party and state power by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, good harvests were reaped even in a year of serious natural disaster. Let's take 1972 to illustrate the point. The weather in Voronezh and the Don River areas was good, and there was no natural disaster of any kind whatsoever. But the harvest that year was far from good. The situation last year was more or less the same. Therefore, to ascribe serious reduction in grain output in the Soviet Union to heaven's refusal to help can hoodwink no one.

Nevertheless, those who argued that human fault was the main cause showed their candour only in a small way. Although they had to admit certain human factors were to blame for Soviet agricultural backwardness, they steered clear of the key issue—the root cause of the poor harvest—by shoving the responsibility to those down below. This shows that although the controversy reflects to a certain degree the contradictions and confusion within the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, the participants, while arguing differently, serve the same purpose of absolving Brezhnev from his responsibility.

On which side of the controversy does Brezhnev, a Brezhnev who is said to have made "major personal contributions" to the upsurge in Soviet agriculture, stand? His latest performance at the 25th party congress showed that he cut both ways. He said that the unfavourable situation in Soviet agriculture was due to an "unprecedented dry spell," while in the same breath he said "dry spell" was not the sole reason. So he blamed both heaven and men. How impartial, fair and circumspect he is! But his motive in doing so was as clear as daylight. In supporting the argument that natural disaster was the main cause, he shoved the responsibility on to heaven; and when he sided with those who put the blame on serious human fault, he shoved the responsibility on to certain scapegoats below. This is evidenced by the fact that in a little over a month, agricultural ministers in seven union republics were fired, and the Soviet Minister of Agriculture was ousted at the 25th congress from the political bureau of the central committee of the Soviet revisionist party. In the last analysis, the human fault lies not with those in the lower echelon but with Brezhnev's revisionist line and policies, the all-round restoration of capitalism, the perverse actions of the revisionist ruling clique and its frenzied militarization of the national economy. This is the crux of the issue and no amount of controversy can cover it up.

## What "Revolutionary Transformation"!

NOT long ago, a Soviet revisionist chieftain waxed eloquent at a French rally, arrogantly lecturing his audience about the need to "make indefatigable efforts to carry out revolutionary transformation of the exploiting society" and boasting that the Soviet "socialist system" constitutes "the prop for the entire liberation movement of the people of various countries." This bombastic speech gives the impression that the Soviet revisionist clique, which has betrayed the working class, encourages and supports the people all over the world in their struggle against the system of exploitation and for social emancipation.

As luck would have it, at this very moment the French press published two news reports giving two resounding slaps to this demagogic speaker from Moscow.

One of the reports says that the Soviet Union has set up a watch factory in partnership with French capitalists in Besançon, making watches with Soviet-made mechanical parts and French-made cases for sale in France. The workers hired in this factory are all French and none of them is allowed to join trade unions. So the management doesn't have to worry about strikes and other such questions.

The other report is about the prolonged strike of workers in the Triton Factory in France. The Soviet revisionist authorities, on the pretext that the strike adversely affected the fulfilment of the order they had contracted with the factory, cabled the French trade union authorities demanding an end to the strike. The result was that the strike was crushed on Moscow's orders.

This "developed socialist country," which thinks no small beer of itself, has made investments in a developed capitalist country and hired local workers to produce commodities so as to exploit surplus value from them. What difference is there between such exploitation and what the bourgeoisie does in a capitalist country? Does this mean "making indefatigable efforts to carry out revolutionary transformation of the exploiting society"? The Soviet revisionists, under false pretences, often accuse Western "transnational corporations" of "using capital to exploit wage-labourers." But they themselves are doing exactly the same thing.

It goes without saying that in a factory operated by the Soviet revisionists in partnership with foreign capitalists, the workers who do not even have the right to join trade unions cannot carry out "revolutionary transformations." To the workers on strike in a foreign factory with which the Soviet revisionists have placed orders, Moscow has given the big stick, instead of a "prop." All this has exposed the true colours of that superpower which flaunts the banner of socialism as an implacable enemy of the peoples striving for emancipation.

# Struggle Against Confucianism by Wang Chung, Eastern Han Thinker

by Hsueh Li-szu

THE threat of a slave-owning class restoration had ended and the centralized feudal system already had been consolidated by the later period of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.). As a result, the historical status of the landlord class also changed, transforming steadily from a progressive class opposing the slave-owning class into a conservative class suppressing the peasantry. Under such new historical conditions, ideology also went through changes. Serving the interests of the slave-owning class, Confucian thought was recast, modified and turned into reactionary thinking that upheld the rule of the landlord class.

Why were these changes possible? It was because the Confucian political stand for a return to the ancients and retrogression conformed with the needs of a landlord class that had turned towards conservatism. Besides, the hypocritical benevolence, righteousness and virtue that the Confucians so strenuously advocated also suited the feudal rulers' needs in deceiving the people.

A product of the new historical conditions was the idealist ideological system of Tung Chung-shu (179-104 B.C.; see "Western Han Landlord Class Went From Opposing to Revering Confucianism" in our issue No. 8, 1976) with the "consonance between heaven and man" as its theoretical basis and "the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues" as the core of its content, together with his reactionary proposal to "only revere Confucianism and ban all other schools of thought." By inheriting the idea of "heaven and man merging into one" of Confucius and Mencius and absorbing the religious and superstitious doctrines then prevailing, Tung Chung-shu gave the Confucian classics new interpretations. He did his utmost to prove by his reactionary theory that the autocracy of the landlord class was sacred as well as eternal.

Though Tung Chung-shu's reactionary thought came out as early as the mid-Western Han period, the feudal rulers who continually implemented the Legalist line then did not pay it much heed. As social contradictions deepened and peasant uprisings gained ground in the later Western Han period, the feudal rulers completely took the road of venerating Confucianism and opposing

Legalism in order to hold on to their reactionary rule. Apart from accepting Tung Chung-shu's reactionary thought, they further combined the Confucian classics with religious and superstitious ideas in an attempt to save their tottering rule. However, the dialectics of history went against their subjective wishes and the Western Han Dynasty finally collapsed in 25 A.D. under the hammer blows of big peasant uprisings throughout the nation.

In the course of the peasant uprisings, Liu Hsiu, a representative of the dominant landlords, seized the fruits of victory of the peasant uprisings and founded the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220). After the establishment of this feudal political power representing the interests of the dominant landlords, contradictions between peasantry and landlord class continued to be very acute and small-scale peasant uprisings never let up. Sometimes these brought serious threats to the reactionary rule of the landlords. Under these circumstances, while feverishly continuing to suppress peasant uprisings by violence, the Eastern Han rulers urgently felt the need of a theory to defend their reactionary rule.

Thus, they took over Tung Chung-shu's reactionary doctrines and devoted themselves to recasting and modifying Confucian thought to make it better serve the dictatorship of the landlord class. Through the political power they held, they sanctified Confucius, raised Confucian thought to the position of codes and branded Legalism and all other progressive thinking heresy. Consequently Confucian thought became the only official thinking and the position of Confucianism as the only school to be revered was confirmed by law. The great thinker and writer Lu Hsun (1881-1936) pointed out: After the Han Dynasty the public opinion mediums were in the hands of professional Confucians. (*My Views on Chastity*.) This was a true description of the fact.

The dominant position of Confucian thought signified that the landlord class had strengthened its dictatorship over the working people in feudal society's superstructure and taken a step further along the conservative and reactionary road.

While Confucianism was praised as the orthodox thinking and Confucius revered as a sage-king without a crown, there also emerged some landlord-class Legalist statesmen and thinkers representing the interests of ordinary landlords and demanding reform and progress. The outstanding representative was the materialist thinker Wang Chung in early Eastern Han times.

A native of Shangyu (now Shangyu in Chekiang Province), Wang Chung (27-97 A.D.) came from a family of commoners which engaged in farming and trade and he had been a petty official. Oppressed by well-known families and dominant clans, he was fairly close to the working people in the lower ranks and sympathized with them. Inheriting the materialist ideological tradition and the bold spirit of going against the tide—characteristics of the Legalist school—he strongly refuted the Confucian doctrines represented by Tung Chung-shu. The reactionary Confucian fallacies, he sharply pointed out, came from "false books and unrefined words" and the Confucians were back-to-the-ancient fanatics who "slavishly believe in teachers and worship ancient people" and blind followers who held that "all the words of the sages and the wisemen are right."

Wang Chung looked down on Confucius whom the ruling class extolled to the skies and attacked him and Mencius in such articles as "Questioning Confucius" and "Criticizing Mencius." He categorically stated: "Is there anything wrong in questioning Confucius?" "Is there anything unreasonable in refuting the doctrines of Confucius?" Through ruthless exposure or contemptuous derision, he convincingly criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and Tung Chung-shu's fallacious statements.

### **"Mandate of Heaven" and "Heavenly Way Is Natural"**

Karl Marx pointed out: "Religion is the general theory of that world [state and society], its encyclopaedic compendium" and "its universal source of consolation and justification." (Introduction to "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law.") Worshipping and following heaven's mandate was the core of the philosophical thinking of Confucius and Mencius as well as the theoretical basis of the Confucian doctrines. In his "consonance between heaven and man" theory, Tung Chung-shu described heaven as the supreme master acting with purpose and will and said that everything in the world was the result of heaven's conscious creation and arrangement. When man acted in line with the mandate of heaven, it would bless him; otherwise, it would condemn him to misfortune. Tung Chung-shu also preached the concept that "the authority of the monarch is the mandate of heaven," saying that since the feudal rulers' right had been bestowed by heaven, anyone opposing the emperor went against heaven.

Taking the materialist stand, Wang Chung absorbed the astronomical and geographical achievements of the

times and rebutted these fallacies tit for tat. According to him, all things were formed by material elements and both heaven and earth were material substances, non-sensory and without aim and will. He said: "The heavenly way is natural and not the result of anyone's effort." That is to say, everything in the world emerges and develops naturally and there is no such thing as a supreme master who creates and arranges the world. "Man cannot influence heaven by his actions, neither can heaven respond to him according to his actions." When Confucius and the Confucian classics cited the mandate of heaven, what they intended was to scare and deceive the people. Wang Chung not only fundamentally negated the theory of "consonance between heaven and man" but dealt a powerful blow at the concept that "the authority of the monarch is the mandate of heaven."

Wang Chung criticized the views spread by the Confucians that heaven could bestow fortune or misfortune and natural calamities were heaven's "warnings" to the rulers in the world. He observed solar and lunar eclipses, thunder and rain storms and such cataclysms as earthquakes, pointing out that all these were natural phenomena and not so-called heaven's "warnings." He further elaborated on his argument by saying: Wasn't the same heaven there in the past that is here now? Why weren't these phenomena called "warnings" in the past and why are they called "warnings" now? This is nothing but people imposing their ideas on heaven.

Wang Chung also adhered to his atheistic views and opposed prevailing religious and superstitious ideas. He made the famous statement concerning the relationship between body and spirit: "Since no fire in the world can exist independently, how can any spirit exist on earth without a physical body?" That is to say, a spirit cannot exist independently in isolation from a body. This not only clearly denied the existence of spirits and gods but strongly refuted the theory of "consonance between heaven and man."

### **"Born With Knowledge" and "Knowledge Through Learning"**

Whether people are born with knowledge or acquire it through practice—these are, philosophically speaking, two diametrically opposed views in the theory of knowledge and also were an important content in the struggle between worshipping and opposing Confucianism in the Eastern and Western Han periods. To defend rule by the slave-owning aristocrats, Confucius did all he could to spread idealist apriorism and prattled that there were sages "born with knowledge" and that "only the highest who are the wise and the lowest who are the stupid cannot be changed." Mencius propagated that the exploiting class was born with virtue and wisdom and he divided people into two categories—"those who are always the first to know and become aware" and "those who know and become aware only later." The first "work with their minds" and use their brains while the second "work with their hands" and

do physical labour. The latter must abide by the rule of the former who were born to be fed and served by those who "work with their hands." Such reactionary fallacies of Confucius and Mencius later became the theoretical basis of all exploiting classes in oppressing and being hostile to the people.

Taking over the apriorist thinking of Confucius and Mencius and merging it with his own theory of "consonance between heaven and man," Tung Chung-shu established an idealist apriorist system tainted with a theological character. He denied that man's knowledge came from social practice and held that the knowledge of the sages was bestowed by "heaven" and acquired through cultivating the mind and understanding. There was no need for people to take part in social practice and come into contact with objective things, he explained, and as long as they were adept in "following the will of heaven" and "understanding the mind of heaven," they could not only know the objective world but achieve the goal of tranquillizing the whole country. Tung Chung-shu also divided man's nature into three categories: the "nature of the sage," the "nature of the intermediate man" and the "nature of bushel and pail" (meaning limited talent and wisdom and that the labouring people were born ignorant). This was nothing but a refurbishing of the fallacy that "only the highest who are the wise and the lowest who are the stupid cannot be changed."

A rebel against landlord-class ideas, Wang Chung used the ideological weapon of materialism to scathingly criticize the idealist apriorism of Confucius, Mencius and Tung Chung-shu. Boldly denouncing the nonsense that some "are born with knowledge," he directed his criticism straight at Confucius. He pointed out clearly that "Confucius could not know beforehand" and that there was no man "who was born with the nature of knowing by himself." By citing a wealth of facts, he negated the lies cooked up by the disciples of Confucius and Mencius that a so-called "sage" "could know what happened 1,000 years ago and what will happen 10,000 years after" and "know without learning and understand without asking." Once Confucius and his disciple Yen Hui, Wang Chung said, went through Kuang (now Huahsien County in Honan Province) and were suddenly encircled by the masses. If Confucius really could know what would happen in the future, he should have "taken another road to avoid trouble." As things turned out, he did not know the imminent incident at all beforehand, so he encountered the Kuang people and was surrounded by them.

Apart from explaining the non-existence of apriorist knowledge, Wang Chung emphasized that man's knowledge could only come from contact with the objective outside world and be acquired through "seeing, asking and deep thinking." People "know things from learning and acquire knowledge through learning," he held, and they "understand only after learning and know only after asking." People in Lintzu (today's Yitai in Shantung Province) lived for generations on embroidery and

so all women there were skilled embroiderers. Why? Wang Chung answered that they became skilful because they saw what it was and did it every day.

Wang Chung severely repudiated the bad habit of the Confucians, including Tung Chung-shu, for specializing in "groundless and absurd words" and "flashy and pretentious expressions." This was an important component of his criticizing the Confucian apriorism by the materialist theory of knowledge which considers knowledge a reflection of reality. He held that effect should be taken as the standard to distinguish between right and wrong or true and false. As he said in his own words, "things are best demonstrated by effect and conclusions are best reached by proof." This idea of stressing effect and proof was of positive significance in the struggle against the trend of worshipping Confucianism at his time.

### **"Worshipping the Ancients" and Opposing Retrogression**

Confucius, Mencius and Tung Chung-shu all were die-hards standing for "worshipping the ancients" and against reform. Faced with social upheaval and widespread disorder in the later years of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), Confucius was panic-stricken and ill at ease and desperately travelled around to restore the rule of the declining slave-owning aristocrats. Tung Chung-shu completely took over the mantle of Confucius and tried to preserve the law, order and ethics of the feudal landlord class for ever. In theory he trumpeted the fallacy that "Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao changeth not" and in practice he put forth the retrogressive proposal of "following heaven and learning from ancient examples." According to him, the social system never changed and any reform would only make it go from bad to worse. This was an out-and-out theory of turning back the clock of history.

Tit for tat, Wang Chung criticized the retrogressive theory of Tung Chung-shu and his like and maintained that human society was continually developing. The ancient people, he pointed out, had neither grain for food nor clothes, but people were now able to sink wells, cultivate crops for grain, "make use of water and fire" and "have cotton clothes for everyday wear." This showed that things had been developing and changing and humanity also was constantly progressing.

What the crude Confucians said about the present being inferior to the past and the Han Dynasty being inferior to the Chou Dynasty, Wang Chung pointed out very sharply, did not tally with the facts of historical development. He highly praised Liu Pang (256-195 B.C.), the founder of the Western Han Dynasty, and fully confirmed Liu Pang's achievements in defeating the restorationist forces of the slave-owners and founding the unified centralized feudal state. After comparing the various aspects of the feudal state of Han with those of the slave state of Chou, he concluded that the territory of the Han Dynasty far exceeded that of the

Chou Dynasty and Han's production also was far more advanced than that of Chou. All this proved that "Han is superior to Chou" and the Han was "above many other dynasties."

He derided the Confucians, saying they were so glad to talk about ancient things and fulsomely praised the so-called "sage emperors and enlightened kings" of the slave era, but showed no interest at all in contemporary achievements and thus became utterly muddle-headed by "knowing the ancient and not the present."

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It can be seen from what has been said above that in the struggle between worshipping and opposing Confucianism during the Han Dynasty, Wang Chung made a powerful criticism of the feudal autocrat official philosophy represented by Tung Chung-shu and demonstrated the fighting strength of materialism. Owing to class and historical limitations, however, Wang Chung's struggle against Confucianism was not thoroughgoing. Although he used a lot of examples to criticize the thought of Confucius and Mencius sharply, his method was mainly that of formal logic. He exposed from various angles the contradictions between the words and actions of Confucius and Mencius, but he failed to grasp the reactionary essence of their ideological system.

Besides, Wang Chung's appraisal was incorrect with regard to Han Fei (280-233 B.C.), a representative of

the Legalists in the last years of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). Though taking a clearly different attitude towards the Confucians, he disapproved of Han Fei's political stand. He denounced him because the latter advocated farming and war but not propriety and righteousness, and stressed punishment but not virtue. He considered the Confucians representatives of propriety and righteousness and therefore indispensable. He disagreed with Han Fei's conclusion that Confucians were the main vermin in society. This exposed Wang Chung's failure to examine the contradiction between the Confucian and Legalist schools from the high plane of struggle between correct line and erroneous line and to completely get rid of the influence of Confucian thought. Therefore, he could not see the struggle between the two schools as a struggle between two political forces.

Historical experience has shown that the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools was a struggle between two lines. Anyone who opposes Confucianism but is unable to criticize the Confucian political platform from its class nature and give the Legalists their deserved historical affirmation cannot thoroughly defeat Confucian thought. This is the most important reason why Wang Chung was not a thoroughgoing fighter against Confucianism. The historical task of thoroughly criticizing Confucian thought can be accomplished only by the proletariat who master dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

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people's communes. This once again exposed the true colours of those who remained bourgeois democrats. These people, who tried to push forward a capitalist programme and bourgeois slogans in the period of socialist revolution, could not but be washed away by the current of the socialist revolution.

It is by no means strange that, in the period of the socialist revolution, there are still some in the Party whose ideology remains at the stage of the democratic revolution and who deal with things from the standpoint and world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. Under the guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolution led by the Party has won great victories. But because the Party over a long period in the past led revolutionary movements which were bourgeois democratic in nature, many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats joined the revolutionary ranks and the vanguard of the proletariat. Many who were educated in Marxism-Leninism and were tempered in protracted revolutionary struggles gradually abandoned their bourgeois world outlook and accepted or fostered the proletarian stand and world outlook. But there are

still a few who have been profoundly influenced by bourgeois ideology but have not accepted the Party's education and remoulding, and their stand and world outlook remain unchanged. In socialist society, the bourgeoisie still exists and its ideology will inevitably influence certain people in the vanguard of the proletariat and turn them into bourgeois democrats and revisionists. Their world outlook is bound to find expression stubbornly on political and ideological questions by every possible means. One cannot expect it to do otherwise. When the socialist revolution is rolling forward, there inevitably are people who obstinately want to stop it and turn it back. Such people appeared in the past, are still around at present and will emerge in the future.

The proletarian Party must wage resolute struggles against such attempts to transform the Party and society in the image of the bourgeoisie. With regard to those comrades who have made mistakes, our Party's consistent policy is: "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient." In the current struggle, we should continue to adhere to this policy, patiently help those comrades who have made mistakes to mend their ways so as to promote unity and do our work well.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## UNITED NATIONS

### Review of U.N. Charter — An Irreversible Trend

The Special Committee on the United Nations Charter and on Strengthening the Role of the Organization, formed by 42 U.N. member states, met for the first time between February 17 and March 12. Defying obstacles set by the superpowers, the meeting decided to form a working group to study the question on review and revision of the U.N. Charter. This shows that the medium and small countries' demand for revision of the Charter is irresistible and that the attempts of the superpowers, especially the Soviet social-imperialists, to obstruct revision in order to preserve their privileged position in the United Nations, go against the will of the people.

Since the founding of the United Nations, the third world countries have been playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Many medium-sized and small countries have won independence and the number of U.N. members has almost tripled. Obviously, the U.N. Charter should be revised accordingly. Now, the numerous medium and small countries resolutely demand application of the principle of equality for all countries, big and small, and oppose the unreasonable state of affairs in which the superpowers manipulate the United Nations. This is entirely legitimate. Their demands for reviewing and revising the Charter, enlarging the power of U.N. General Assembly, reducing the power of the Security Council, altering the composition of the Security Council, and limiting or abolishing the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council are worthy of serious consideration.

Soviet Representative Kolesnik, however, raved that the Soviet delegation's stand against revision of the Charter remains unchanged. He asserted that revision is "unnecessary,

unrealistic and dangerous," will "lead to hostility, confrontation and disillusionment" and "weaken mutual confidence and understanding." His fallacies were refuted by the representatives of many countries. In her speech, Chinese Representative Ho Li-liang pointed out that the superpowers are panic-stricken in the face of the trend in favour of Charter revision and are doing their utmost to stop it. One of them has stood in unjustifiable and desperate opposition to review of the Charter and wilfully slandered countries which stood for review of the Charter as so-called "reactionary forces" "seeking to undermine the United Nations." What it fears, in fact, is that it will be deprived of its privilege to abuse the veto power. Yet review of the Charter is the irreversible trend and popular demand.

## SECURITY COUNCIL

### Support Mozambique's Struggle Against Aggression

The United Nations Security Council met on March 16 and 17 to discuss the situation in Mozambique and adopted a resolution denouncing the Smith regime of Rhodesia for its aggression against Mozambique.

The resolution says that the Security Council is gravely concerned about the situation created by the illegal regime in Rhodesia in violating the security and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Mozambique. It reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure such rights. The resolution appeals to states to provide assistance to Mozambique to enhance its capacity of implementing fully the system of sanctions against Rhodesia.

Speaking at the session, Mozambican Foreign Minister condemned the Smith regime for clinging to its stand against the southern African

people and launching a war of aggression against Mozambique. He said that Mozambique had made a decision to strengthen sanctions against the Smith regime in order to support the Zimbabwean people's struggle against the racist regime and for national liberation.

In their speeches, representatives from Tanzania, Zambia, Jamaica, Guyana, Kenya, Egypt, Pakistan and Romania also condemned the Smith regime for its ruthless repression of the Zimbabwean people and aggression against Mozambique. They called for resolute support for the Zimbabwean people's struggle for national liberation and appropriate assistance to Mozambique.

Chinese Representative Huang Hua said in his speech: "The Chinese Government and people fully sympathize with and firmly support the Mozambican people in their just struggle and strongly condemn the Smith racist regime's aggression against Mozambique. We hold that the United Nations should give assistance to the Mozambican people in their just struggle, solemnly condemn the Rhodesian white racist regime for its aggression against Mozambique, expand and strengthen the sanctions against Rhodesia, and take all measures to guarantee the implementation of the U.N. resolution on sanctions against Rhodesia."

He pointed out: "Africa belongs to the African people. Nobody can alter the excellent situation in which the African people are winning successive victories in their struggle for national liberation. Of course, the imperialists and racists are still putting up a death-bed struggle. The Soviet social-imperialists are hatching new schemes in the wake of their armed intervention in Angola, in an attempt to interfere in and undermine the national-liberation movement in southern Africa. But the raging torrents of the African people's struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism are irresistible no matter how tortuous their road of advance may be. Final victory certainly belongs to the people of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and all Africa."

## BRITAIN

### Wilson Decides to Resign

With the deepening of Britain's political and economic crises, Harold Wilson announced his decision on March 16 to resign as Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party as well.

Since the Labour Party took office again in March 1974, Britain's economy has been in the grip of a serious crisis with industrial production declining, inflation and unemployment reaching postwar records, the payments deficit growing ever larger and the position of the pound ever weaker. All the measures taken by the Labour government to prevent aggravation of the economic crisis have failed.

The grave economic crisis has sharpened the country's class contradictions as well as contradictions within the ruling circles. The British working people are intensifying their struggle against the monopolists shifting difficulties on to them, and for jobs and higher wages; a bitter quarrel within the ruling circles on how to deal with the crisis has ensued.

The Labour government's white paper of February 19 on a 3,000-million-pound reduction in 1977-80 "public expenditure" has been rejected by opposition parties, including the Conservative Party, and many Labour Party members. When the white paper was put to the vote

in Parliament on March 10, it was turned down by a vote of 274 in favour, 304 against, with 37 Labour M.P.s abstaining. This was the first time in British history that a government was defeated on an important policy question in Parliament. Under pressure of the opposition parties, Wilson was obliged to call for a vote of confidence in the government on March 31. Though the Labour government received a vote of confidence by a small majority and thus passed through the crisis, opposition to the government's economic measures has not melted away in the least and dissension within the Labour Party has grown sharper.

## DENMARK

### Guard Against Soviet Military Threat

The Danish Defence Intelligence, in a recent report to the Defence Committee of Parliament, disclosed that Soviet bombers had been flying very close to Denmark's territory.

The report pointed out that in 1975, Soviet bombers flew in formation very close to Denmark's territory on 110 occasions, of which 80 per cent consisted of less than ten planes, 17 per cent of ten to 40 planes and 3 per cent of 40 to 50 planes. Between January and February 20 this year, similar flights were reported on 20 occasions.

Danish Chief of Defence O. Billekron-Moeller pointed out in a recent statement that in February this year, a number of Soviet bombers flying over the Baltic Sea in an exercise reached a place ten nautical-miles away from Denmark's territory and then flew back eastward. "In this incident," he said, "two Danish F-104 Star-Fighters and two reconnaissance planes were dispatched to follow the Soviet bombers and were ready to drive them out at any time." He stressed that since the beginning of this year, the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries "have markedly escalated their military activities" in the Baltic region. "We must maintain vigilance against them," he declared.

The Danish paper *Aktuelt* noted in a March 13 article that in the eyes of expert analysts on the security policy of the Danish General Staff and Foreign Ministry, the marked escalation of the Warsaw Pact countries' military activities in the Baltic Sea is for the purpose of collecting information about the airspace and straits off the coasts of Denmark. Their strategic intention is to push a war on to Denmark's territory if it is launched, and find a passage for their powerful Baltic Fleet to sail into the Atlantic to carry out a rendezvous with the Soviet Northern Fleet. This signifies that "Denmark, or a greater part of it and Norway are already behind the battle-front in the eyes of Soviet generals," said a high-ranking Danish official.

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ceasefire. After the October War, Egypt urgently needed to replace the weapons destroyed or damaged in the war so as to be ready to meet a possible new aggression by Israel. However, the Soviet revisionists consistently resorted to the method of withholding all supplies. From October 1973 to January 1975, the Soviet Union refused to provide Egypt with weapons and parts for Soviet-made MIG-21 aircraft for which Egypt had paid enormous amounts of foreign currency, thus reducing these aircraft to heaps of scrap. Furthermore, when Egypt turned to a third country to obtain these parts, its hopes were dashed because of Soviet obstruction and sabotage.

Besides using the supply of weapons as a means of blackmail, the Soviet social-imperialists used it to dun the Egyptian people. Just two months after the end

of the October War, the Soviet Union demanded that Egypt pay 22.1 million rubles (29.8 million U.S. dollars) for the remaining interest on military loans. In the following years, it kept pressing Egypt for repayment of debts. Egypt repeatedly asked for a rescheduling of repayment of the debts in accordance with the spirit of the treaty, but this was categorically turned down by the Soviet revisionists.

Every year Egypt had no alternative but to hand over 400 million U.S. dollars to repay Soviet loans plus interest. Besides large amounts of foreign currency every year, Egypt had to give about one-quarter of its cotton and other export commodities as repayment for Soviet "aid" loans and interest. The Soviet social-imperialists' blackmail of Egypt has aroused the Egyptian people's strong resentment and resistance.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## Five New Art Journals

WITH a view to promoting socialist creative works and enlivening literary criticism, the first issues of five new national art journals will be available towards the end of March. The journals are *People's Drama*, *People's Cinema*, *People's Music*, *Dance and Fine Arts*.

In introductory notes and "To the Readers" in the first issues, the editors of the five journals point out: These journals take the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guide, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. They keep to the orientation that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, socialism and proletarian politics, further carry out "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and other policies and principles of the Party, and work for the consolidation and carrying forward of the proletarian revolution in literature and art, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the exercise of all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of literature and art.

In their first issues these journals carry the two poems by Chairman Mao published on New Year's Day 1976: "Chingkangshan Revisited—to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue—to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao*." *People's Music* carries the score to which the two poems have been set.

An oil painting in *Fine Arts* entitled *Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End* depicts the great historic event of Chairman Mao with the Red Guards in front of Peking's Tien An Men.

Many other excellent works in these journals warmly praise the

great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao, the Great Cultural Revolution and socialist new things. There are articles by workers, peasants and soldiers and professional and amateur writers and artists, criticizing the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts stirred up by that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party in literature and art. There are also articles on the experience gained in creating and learning from the model revolutionary theatrical works as well as articles of appreciation of these works.

These journals, now published every two months, will become monthlies beginning July this year.

## Workers' and Peasants' Colleges

MORE than 6,000 workers' and peasants' colleges with 460,000 students have now sprung up in factories, mines and rural people's communes throughout the country.

These colleges are newborn things that have emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In commending the experience of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers, Chairman Mao pointed out on July 21, 1968:

"Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." That year the plant set up China's first workers' college and named it the "July 21" Workers' College.

This new-type college differs from China's old ones in objectives,

type of students enrolled, curricula, teaching materials and methods as well as examination system.

All the students enrolled during the last seven years since its establishment have been workers with rich practical experience. Some of them, after two and a half to three years' study, have graduated and returned to their production posts. They not only operate machines but also take part in designing and tackling various technical problems.

Following the example of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, many factories and mines, big and small, have set up similar colleges, either singly or jointly. In some of these colleges, the students study full time, while in others, they engage in part-work and part-study. In addition, there are spare-time colleges. Some of the colleges give a general course for a period of one to three years, while others give short-term training courses lasting several months. Specialities in these colleges include not only science and engineering but also the liberal arts and medicine. According to incomplete statistics, by the end of 1975 there were over 5,160 "July 21" workers' colleges all over the country, with nearly 250,000 worker-students.

Since the workers' colleges are new-type colleges for training working-class intellectuals, their graduates have constantly reinforced the contingent of new-type worker-



Students of the Peasants' College of Tachai Commune in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, learning to cultivate vegetables in a hothouse.

technicians in the industrial enterprises, thereby strengthening the leading position of the working class in the technical field.

Over the last few years, the 25 workers' colleges set up along the Yangtze River navigation line have trained a contingent of technicians for developing socialist navigation. Of the 555 graduates of the ship-based workers' college run by the Wuhan Branch of the Yangtze River Navigation Administration, 512 have been assigned to work as captains, chief engineers, pilots or engineers. After returning to their units, these graduates have passed on their scientific and theoretical knowledge to other workers through lectures and joint study. In this way, they have played an important role in promoting spare-time education among the workers and popularizing science and technology.

A total of more than 1,220 "May 7" peasants' colleges and communist labour academies with over 216,000 students have mushroomed throughout the rural areas.

All the 44 communes in Hopei Province's Tsunhua County have set up peasants' spare-time colleges. More than 10,000 students divided into 223 classes are now studying various subjects including political theory, farm machinery, agrotechniques, medicine and public health, veterinary science and accounting. Similar schools and study courses have been organized by many communes and production brigades of Kirin Province's Chienkuo County in addition to the peasants' college already established by the county. In recent years, they have trained thousands of agronomists, tractor drivers, electricians and other technical personnel who are playing an active role in the current learn-from-Tachai movement in agriculture.

#### **Bicycles in Wide Use**

IN China, while larger numbers of buses and trolley buses are being turned out, great efforts are also being made to boost bicycle production.

With the first streaks of dawn, Peking's boulevards and lanes come to life as cyclists head for factories, government offices, stores, schools and other places. Its bicycle traffic reaches a peak during rush hours. The capital now boasts more than 2.2 million bicycles, according to its traffic department. Statistics by the end of 1974 showed that there were more than 50 million bicycles in the country's urban and rural areas. Almost all of them were produced in China.

Cycling is good for people's health. A convenient means of communications, bikes cause neither undesirable noises nor air pollution or traffic jams in urban centres. In addition, they are relatively inexpensive, so that workers and peasants can afford them. In the countryside, many men and women commune members pedal to the fields or carry loads on them. Heavy-duty bikes especially designed for use in rural areas can carry loads well over one hundred kilogrammes.

Before liberation, China had only three poorly equipped bicycle factories and scores of workshops making spare parts. Production was only a few thousand bikes a year. At that time foreign-made bikes were a common sight on Chinese city streets. With the country's key economic sectors in the hands of the imperialists, China's bicycle industry remained backward and imported bicycles glutted the market, while the poverty-stricken labouring people had no money to buy them.

After liberation, the People's Government allocated funds to expand the three bicycle factories and set up new ones in many parts of the country. In 1974 the nation's total output of bicycles was 371 times that of 1949. China can now produce different types of bicycles including sports models, light and heavy-duty roadsters, mini-bikes, collapsible bikes, multi-gear bikes and mopeds.

Chinese bicycles are now exported to over 50 countries in Asia, Africa

and Latin America. The number for 1974 was 27 times the 1953 figure.

#### **Sian's Watch Making Industry**

SIAN, an ancient city in northwest China, has built up a modern watch making industry, helping to bring about its more rational distribution in the country as a whole.

The city's fast growing watch making industry, which was established during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, consists of six factories and a research institute which make up a watch making industrial system in preliminary form. Sian now produces all the 137 parts and five components required in making wristwatches, in addition to supplying three components to factories in other parts of the country. The No. 1 Watch Making Machinery Plant, the first of its kind in China, supplies more than 70 enterprises in 21 provinces and municipalities with its products.

Generally speaking, these factories were built and put into operation in two or three years, and some in only one year.

Since going into operation, they have steadily increased output and improved quality. Last year, all fulfilled their state plans ahead of schedule. In the four years from 1972 to 1975, their total output value went up at an average annual rate of 31 per cent. The "Yenan" brand wristwatch made by the Hungch (Red Flag) Wristwatch Factory has been on sale throughout the country since it was first turned out in March 1973.

The shock absorbers and hair-springs manufactured by the Sian Watch Components Factory are up to the advanced standards of similar domestic and foreign products in both structure and performance.

New technological processes and techniques have been introduced in these factories. A group of young workers in the Jewel Bearings Factory has carried out successful experiments on applying the laser technology to jewel drilling, thereby greatly raising both output and quality.